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The Foxes in their village said, "Say, I believe the chiefs have been killed. This is a time of war. *Teap'o'spaga* has been angered. When *Teap'o'spaga* gets very angry he generally does what he threatens." Then the bad Foxes said, "Perhaps they are eating the objects we donated".[a]

"The Foxes will not be coming back for some time" (the Winnebago said). (The Foxes) at the same time had gathered together and discussed the fate of the chiefs who had gone to give themselves up (to the Winnebago) and had never returned. "Very likely they are not alive any more," they said.

Teap'o'spaga returned to the Winnebago village after he killed (the chiefs) and then started for the smaller of the two villages in which the Foxes lived. It was at the smaller village that the lake was narrowest. Toward this one he was going, he said.

He had again planned a war-party. All those within the village who were likely to show any skill in killing men prepared themselves for (attacking) the smaller village. They started at dawn, and they reached the smaller village at night and ferried themselves across. By dawn all had crossed and the village was surrounded. As soon as it was broad daylight they gave the war-whoop in four different places. Then they rushed on to the small village and destroyed it completely. Then they burned up the houses and went home.

When they got home everyone was happy. They danced the victory dance and at night they had the *Hak'ize'ra* dance. So happy were the Winnebago.

Although they thought they had killed all in the smaller village, one young girl who was lying on top of a small cliff, near where they crossed, fasting, had not been killed. Now the Foxes were living also in a large village right across the lake from the Winnebago. To this place the young woman who had not been killed went, and when she got to the big Fox village she told them the news, namely, "The Winnebago have completely destroyed us, I believe. Some of them (the enemy) I partially recognized. Go and see, however, whether they were Winnebago, for (if it was they) the lodges will be found burned to the ground, that being their custom when they go on a war-path."

Then the older Foxes went and when they returned, spies announced, "Yes, they were Winnebago, for the lodges have been burned down. It is true that the chiefs who had gone to make peace have been killed." Then the Foxes went into mourning for them. "There are many of the Winnebago and we will not be able to fight them," said the Foxes. Indeed the Foxes were afraid. Although a Fox disliked a Winnebago not one could be kill.

[a] I. e., the chiefs who went to make peace.

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224 825 or hear the noise and run away. For this reason the hunters are very careful about these two things—namely, the number of bears shot and the direction of the wind. The method of hunting bears when the acorns fall and they come to the open or cleared spaces is known as the *kirucí'e* method. When the bears eat acorns then only is it easy to find them and kill them without much effort.

224 [721 648] *Description of a buffalo hunt.* Whenever the Winnebago went buffalo hunting, they always went in large numbers, for the people used to say that on a buffalo hunt, they are likely to encounter their enemies and a fight might take place. It is even said that some people went purposely for the fighting. They generally went together with the *Homaⁿna* (Missouri ?), Waxoteera, Iowa, and *Wadpádjaⁿra*, the Oto. Many women accompanied them. It is said that they could always tell where the buffalo were by the dust they encountered, for the dust raised by the trampling of the buffalo rose high in the air. They would always start out for the buffalo early in the morning on fast horses and try to ride up along the right side of the female buffalo, for they only killed the bulls afterward. They shot the buffalo with bow and arrows. When riding horseback, the bow is always drawn back with the right hand. The reason they try to kill the female buffalo first is because they always run away while the bulls do not.

While hunting the buffalo they were always bound to meet some of their enemies and a fight would ensue, so that when they returned, they would bring back not only buffalo but also scalps, and immediately after their return the Victory Dance would be celebrated.

224 721 A different account of a buffalo hunt was obtained from another informant (J. H.):[1]

[342] Whenever we go on a buffalo hunt we camp in a circle, with the soldiers in front. They always carried long poles to be used in the construction of tipis. [This statement was made by a number of persons whose information was generally accurate. As [237 372] they were bound for the open prairie where there was a scarcity of wood, buffalo manure was always carried *for* fuel.]

As soon as the chief decided to go on a hunt he gave a feast [war feast] to which he invited everyone. This was generally in June. As soon as the feast was over a hunting council was held. Then the chief appointed public criers who went around the [203] village announcing the time for starting, etc. Then all went to the lodge of the chief of the Bear clan. There the ten best warriors were selected, who were to go ahead of the main body and reconnoiter for both buffalo and enemies. These started immediately and if they returned with the news that they had found many buffalo and enemy at the same time, fights frequently took place. Ten warriors always went ahead and the old warriors generally stayed in the rear behind the women in order to protect them better. As soon as they came to the place where the buffalo were seen they followed their trail and killed them. The flesh was cut up into large chunks, which were afterwards dried on the grass. Then when they had enough they all returned home, observing, of course, the same order of march as when they started. When they reached their home they gave another war feast at which all thanked the spirits for their successful return.

223 [762] *Pigeon hunt.*—The pigeons are "chief"[2] birds and they would be hunted whenever the chief decided to give the chief feast. The entire tribe was always invited to participate in the meal served, so that many pigeons were needed. The pigeons generally make their nests near human habitations. Sometimes there would be 20

[1] As his grandfather was a Dakota, J. H. may have confused in his account Dakota customs with those of the Winnebago. Apart from this consideration, it should be said that J. H. was an exceedingly unreliable informant.

[825 214] [2] They are called "chief" birds because the pigeon belongs to the same division as does the Thunderbird, or Chief, clan.

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721 When a man went on a warpath for the sake of glory he generally led a large party and all sorts of special arrangements were made, because then a war leader was necessary and volunteers were always needed. It is believed that the same holds true for larger war parties.

In discussing the essential requisite for a successful war party we have stated that a special blessing was necessary for this purpose. There is, however, one noteworthy exception to this rule, if we are [614 to accept the statements of members of the upper phratry—all mem- 615] bers of the Warrior clan may go on a warpath without fasting and without receiving a blessing. This statement was vigorously denied by members of the lower phratry.

● 727 When a war party returns, a very interesting ceremony takes place. At some distance from the village a victorious war party sends a messenger ahead to tell all those at home that the war party has been unsuccessful and that all have been killed, and that those at home should put on mourning. Secretly, however, the leader tells someone to look for a pole for the Victory dance, and shortly after all the preparations for mourning have been made the victorious warriors rush into the village. Before entering the village that warrior who [555] has counted first coup is offered a pipe, from which he always takes a few puffs. The same pipe is then handed to the one who counted coup second, and so on, until the fourth man is reached. Then the prizes (*waizewe*) are given to the victors, who afterwards give them to their sisters. The scalps are not taken into the village, but are left outside, and warriors who have remained at home rush out to count coup upon them. Then the scalps are carried around the village four times.

555 726 The widely-known Plains custom of "counting coup" is also practiced among the Winnebago. The individual who strikes the dead body of the enemy first obtains the first honor, the one striking it second the second honor, the one striking it third the third honor, and the one who actually killed the enemy obtaining the fourth and least important honor.

721 [115] The following are descriptions given in the words of the informants: *Description of war customs and the manner of conducting a war party.* —Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan.

When a man is ready to go on the warpath, he looks around for as many men as he wishes to take along and then gives a feast. At the feast he fixes the time at which the war party is to start. The man giving the feast (i. e., the leader of the war party) would get up and tell those present that he intended going on a warpath and give his reason; then he would say that whomever so desired could come along.

Many went along. Indeed, there was quite a crowd. The first stopping place (*higinera*) was always near the outskirts of the village. There the leader appointed four men to go after food and wood for the fire. During their absence two camping places would be arranged, one on each side of the war leader. As soon as the four men returned with the food the attendants skinned and prepared the animals for

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eating. Then the war leader asked for food, and it was brought to him. Now the female relatives of the men came to the camp, bringing with them moccasins for the journey. After that the chief asked some man to tell stories and some to take care of the fireplace, while two brave warriors were put in charge of the camp. Toward morning a number of warriors who had not been asked to join this particular war party might stray in (*hotcu'ggiire*). 721

Before the war leader enters the *higijara* he places his war bundle crosswise in front of the entrance of the *higijara* and sings some songs. When he is finished, his attendants place the war bundle on his back, and only then does he really enter the *higijara*, followed by all the other members of the war party.[1]

When they approached the place where they expected to find the enemy, two distinguished warriors were appointed to reconnoiter, and they proceeded ahead of the war party until they saw the enemy. Then they returned to the camp and reported to the war leader. From that time on they would practice their various individual powers (*waruxa'p nagigire'jĕ*).[2] 726

When the two warriors sent out to reconnoiter return, the attendant offers them the pipe that he had prepared for the war leader. They smoke it and say, "Those whom we are after are entirely unaware of our presence." Then the members of the war party would thank them for their information. All would now start out against the enemy. When near the enemy, they practice their powers again and paint themselves with their war paints. To those spirits who have bestowed blessings upon the various members of the war party offerings are now made. Especially to the spirits who are in control of war powers are offerings made. To them they also pray for life and for war honors in the coming encounter. They even offer tobacco to those spirits from whom they have not received blessings, asking them for aid because of their careful observance of all the customs and precepts they were taught. Some offered tobacco to a medicine they possessed and asked the medicine to remember them in the coming encounter. Others boiled water (for a spirit) and asked him to assist them in obtaining a war honor, while others again offered tobacco to their war bundles and prayed that the powers contained therein might be strong and that they might kill some of the enemy and obtain war honors. All prayed that the enemy might not kill them and that they might finally return home safe. Those who had no supernatural powers to fall back upon would get frightened at such a time and they would say, "Alas! how will I fare! I should have fasted. I should have given feasts. I should have offered good medicines to the spirits and fasted until I was blessed, so that I, too, might now have some powerful medicine to use. Had I fasted and obtained a blessing from the spirits who are in control of war powers, had I given feasts, this all would have been a source of strength to me now and I would know positively whether or not I am going to be killed in the coming encounter." 726 782

When everything is in readiness the war leader rises and appoints four warriors to give the war whoop. Then, as soon as the war whoop has been given, they would rush upon the enemy, imitating as they ran the sounds of the spirits who had blessed them. The first four to kill and count coup obtained the corresponding four war honors. Those who captured a man also obtained war honors. Beside these principal ones there were minor war honors. Those who obtained no honors at all would return home crying. After they had killed all those in the village of the enemy they would burn it to the ground and then start for their homes in the best of spirits. 726 [553]

When they were near their home they sent a messenger ahead to inform their relatives to put on mourning, for all those who had started out on the warpath had been killed; that he who had in reality obtained the first war honor had been killed first, 727 ●

[1] *Higijara* is the special arrangement of the camp used on individual warpaths.

[2] When a war party has located the enemy, they prepare for the attack and run about, practicing their individual magical powers. "The war-club running" (*waruxa'p nagigire'jĕ*) referred to in the practice of running about in preparation for the attack upon the enemy so that they may not get tired out too easily. [789]

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727 etc. Then the war leader would secretly tell some one to select a stake (for the Victory Dance) and after a short time all the members of the war party would rush in and march around the entire village striking the scalps that they had tied to sticks. Then they would all go to the place where the stake had been put up and there they would distribute the war prizes to the sisters of the men who had won them and the women would walk around proudly with the prizes around their necks. Then, in the daytime 701 they would dance the Victory Dance and in the evening they would dance the 721 Hok'ixere Dance for four nights.

[115] *Description of a war party.*—Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan.

[787] If a man wishes to go on the warpath he must fast and be blessed by the spirits in a specific manner. If a man is thus blessed, he gives a feast and announces his intention of leading a war party. The chief always has a representative at such a feast (a member of the Buffalo clan), and as soon as it is over this man goes to the former and reports [622] to him. If the chief thinks that the blessing is insufficient and might cause the death of many men he takes the war leader's pipe and lays it across his path and the war leader is then compelled to abandon his undertaking. This action on the part of the chief is sacred and must be accepted as final. The war leader dare not step across the pipe. Should the chief, however, not do this, then the war leader knew that there was no objection. Usually some members of every clan go along, but especially members of the Thunderbird, Warrior, and Bear clans.

The action of the war leader is controlled by many rules. He must be the one who has fasted and been blessed with all that is essential for conducting a war party. He must have his food provided for him by the spirits, know the exact location of the enemy, their numbers, and their sex.

726 After the war party has traveled for about four days, the men offer tobacco to the 701 leader and he tells them where he is going, the number of the enemy, etc. If, after that, any of the members of the war party do not approve of the undertaking then they place a pipe across his path and the war leader is compelled to return. If nothing is said, then all is well. The war leader always goes ahead of his party and his attendants behind him, followed by the other members of the party. Whenever the chief stops his attendants run to his side, take his war bundle and place it in front of him. Then the leader sits down, neither turning to the right nor to the left but looking straight ahead. The attendants get two poles and place them on each side of him, bend the ends over to form an arch, on each side of which are placed small oak sticks [614] arranged in a row. Under this structure the war leader stays. Here he sleeps and is fed by his attendants. No one is permitted to go ahead of this improvised structure. On each side of him two fireplaces are placed, two for the Upper clans and two for the Lower clans. If the war party is traveling westward the two fireplaces on the north side belong to the Lower clans and the two on the south side to the Upper clans. If a man is going on a warpath for the first time, he stays in the rear of the party and has a little fire of his own. He remains in the rear in this way until the battle begins. Then he joins the others.

A member of the Warrior clan is selected by the war leader to act as guard and he goes back and forth behind him encouraging the men and telling them not to steal away alone or go too far ahead of the party, since that always results in the loss of life. It is for this reason that it is not considered correct for a man to try and steal away and perhaps obtain a war honor in this selfish manner. Whenever the war leader stops he tells his companions what they must do in order to obtain food, all this information having been provided for in his blessing. If he tells some one to go to a certain place and kill a deer, he is certain to find a deer at the place specified. Whenever the war leader gets up and steps over his war bundle the attendants come and place his war [782] bundle on his back and he then proceeds on his march, followed by the other members of the party. Whenever he comes to a river he takes some of the tobacco which is

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always kept on hand and offers it to the spirit who controls this particular war party. The others do the same. Then he would cross the river. Whenever he drank any water the others would also do so, and if he refrained so would the others. If at any time during the night when they are camping the war leader should wake up and sing some songs, be they grizzly bear, black rust paint, or night songs, all those others who know similar songs would likewise begin to sing.

Miscellaneous war customs. There were, in former times, many miscellaneous customs connected with warfare, most of which have now been forgotten. However, in myths and accounts of war parties a number of them are still mentioned.

When a war party surprised a lodge, all the occupants were killed or captured and the poles that were spliced together to form the arches were released so that they sprang back to either side and assumed a vertical position.

When a war party surprised a lodge in which there were children they generally killed them, cut off their heads, pried open their mouths so as to give them the appearance of laughing, and then placed the heads on their bodies again and arranged them against the door, so that when their father came home he would find them greeting him as usual. A brave warrior would never flinch at such a sight, but would prepare a meal as usual and speak to the children as if they were alive and offer them something to eat. Only then would he bury them. Immediately after they had been buried he would go on the warpath to revenge them.

Frequently the skulls of slain enemies are used as lodge weights and their skin is taken off and used as mats, door-flaps, etc.

War honors.—"It is the ideal of every Winnebago youth," says an informant, "to kill an enemy in full sight of his friends and thus to gain for himself a headdress and an eagle feather." Most deeds considered valorous, according to Winnebago ideas, have associated with them certain insignia which are always worn in public, giving evidence to all that so-and-so has performed such and such a valorous deed.

These insignia consist of the following:

Headdress and feather.—Denote that an individual has scalped and killed a man and torn off his scalp still bleeding. He is entitled to a red headdress and eagle feather. This also includes the man who has counted first coup (*sarinlgwahi'na*).

Red headdress.—If he has killed the enemy and not scalped him (*teasl'ate wak'e'rē.*)

Eagle feather.—Worn by one who has counted second coup.

Hanging eagle feather.—Worn by one who has counted third coup.

Eagle feather stuck crosswise in hair.—Worn by one who has counted fourth coup.

Waggiruagite.—Consists of a rope worn around the neck. It is worn by the leader of that warpath who has captured an enemy.

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you will be able to obtain these and in addition glory and the war honors.[4] If, in truth, you thirst yourself to death,[5] our grandfathers who are in control of wars—to whom all the war powers that exist in this world belong—they will assuredly bless you.

My son, if you do not wear out your feet through ceaseless activity (in fasting), if you do not blacken your face for fasting, it will be all in vain that you inflict sufferings upon yourself. Blessings are not obtained through mere desire alone; they are not obtained without making the proper sacrifices or without putting yourself time and again in proper mental condition. Indeed, my son, they are not to be obtained without effort on your part. So see to it that, of all those spirits whom Earthmaker created, one at least has pity upon you and blesses you. Whatever such a spirit says to you that will unquestionably happen.

Now, my son, if you do not obtain a spirit to strengthen you, you will not amount to anything in the estimation of your fellowmen. They will show you little respect. Perhaps they will make fun of you.

Do not die in the village. It is not good to die there. Whenever a person is grown up that is what is told him. Nor is it good, my son, to let women journey ahead of you from amidst the village. It is not good thus to let women die before you.[6] Therefore, in order to prevent this, our ancestors encouraged one another to fast. Some day you will travel in a difficult road; there will be some crisis in your life, and then when it is too late you will begin to reproach yourself for not having fasted at the proper time. So that you may not have occasion to blame yourself at such a time I counsel you to fast. If you do not obtain a blessing when the other women are dividing the war prizes brought home from the warpath by their brothers, your sisters will stand aside envying them. If, however, you are blessed by the spirits in control of war power, and if you then return victorious, how proud your sisters will be to receive the war honors and to wear them around their necks and participate with them in the victory dance! And in this way your sisters likewise will be strengthened by your war deeds. You will keep well, in health.

My son, it will indeed be good if you obtain war powers, but our ancestors say it is difficult. Especially difficult is it to be leader on

[4] There are four war honors, the highest going to the Indian who first touches a dead enemy, the second belonging to the one who kills him, and the last two to those who touch him second and third. The war prizes generally consisted of necklaces of wampum which were given to those who had obtained the first war honors. The victor also would be given the privilege of first smoking the pipe on his return to his home. The price of the wampum necklaces was always given by the victor to his elder sisters.

[5] That is, fast.

[6] That is, obtain war power so that you can go on the warpath and prevent yourself from dying in the village or have women die before you.

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In this lodge they claimed that prisoners were 614
confined and certain tribal regalia deposited. The informants were 727
not, however, at all clear about these facts, some even denying that there was a Warrior lodge and insisting that prisoners were confined in the Bear or Soldier lodge.

According to one informant the Warrior and Bear clans could give 614
each other orders that had to be obeyed.

The members of the Warrior clan claimed that all the members of the clan were warriors and did not have to fast in order to obtain [785]
the right of starting out on a war party. This was vigorously denied by the members of the other clans, who referred to this claim with derision. There seems, however, to be no reason for questioning the fact that the clan had a special lodge and that it was intimately connected with war functions. Exactly what these were it is quite impossible to state, as they have not been exercised for a very long time.

The first two clan songs are given on page 220. The clan facial decoration, used only at burial, and which were supposed to be [302]
marks of recognition in the spirit land, are as follows: A red line alternating with a black and another red line across the forehead, and a red line around the mouth. One informant claimed that only the three marks on the forehead were necessary, and that in times of war blood was used for the red marks (pl. 46).

According to an informant of the Thunderbird clan, the Warrior clan functions were as follows:

The Warrior clan's position in the tribe is that of general warrior. He can kill an [721]
enemy at any time without breaking any of the rules of the tribe. Every other clansman who wishes to go on the warpath must fast and be blessed by the spirits with specific blessings before he can do this.

There may have been a special feast associated with the Warrior clan, but the author never heard of it. The clan possessed a number [778]
of war bundles.

ORIGIN MYTH

(TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

In the beginning, Earthmaker made four men. Then he sent 614
them to the earth. Within Lake, there, they landed and they alit 539
on the branch of a tree. There were four branches and each one alit 776
on one branch. And then on the earth they jumped and started walking toward the east. There they erected a camping place. There they started the fire. It was the principal fire. Then they started to look for food, but they were unable to find any. So the second brother was sent, but he was not able to get any animal, but he brought a man. Because he brought it, for that reason, the first male child we have shall be called *He-who-eats-humans*. Then the second one, him whom they called the warrior, was sent. Thus it

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614 173 have been subjected to literary and shamanistic remodeling. Only the shorter accounts show in their subject matter and presentation certain affinities to the origin myths of the other clans the longer ones being entirely different. Another cause for these marked differences may lie in the circumstance that since the longer accounts were associated with semi-esoteric ceremonies, the war-bundle feasts, they were known to but few individuals in the clan, whereas the shorter legends could be learned by anyone who chose to pay for 614 them. To this must also be added the fact that presumably some of the accounts current were based on hearsay knowledge.

[554] The Bear clan was, next to the Thunderbird clan, the most important in the tribe. Its lodge was either in the center of the village, opposite that of the Thunderbird clan, or at the extreme end, depending upon the scheme of village organization accepted as correct. In it were confined the prisoners of war and the insignia of office possessed by the clan, such as the so-called standards, really crooks, and the so-called *namazinizini*. Some individuals also claimed that unmarried men were allowed to sleep in the lodge, although they were not clear as to whether they did this in order to guard the prisoners confined there or simply used it as a club house.

[361] [727] [513 345]

The clan songs are given on page 235. The same songs are used when gathering the clansmen together to select soldiers.

[533]

Apart from the war bundle or war bundles, the Bear clan possessed three insignia—a war club of a definite shape, the curiously whittled baton of authority called *namazinizini*, and the crooks used in battle called *hoke'reʷu*. Whenever the clan was exercising any of its functions the leader would always hold in his hands the *namazinizini*.

614 778

The functions of the clan were probably the most important in the tribe and were entirely disciplinary. The author obtained the following description from an old Winnebago:

614 625 The Bear clansmen are the soldiers or sergeants-at-arms of the tribe. They have complete control of everything concerning discipline. Whenever the Winnebago are traveling or moving (i. e., on their various seasonal moves), the Bear clansmen lead, and wherever they decide to stop, there the leader would put his stick in the ground and the other Bear clansmen would do the same, arranging them all in a row pointing toward the direction in which they were going. The main body of the tribe would follow at a certain distance. No member of the tribe would dare pass ahead of the row of sticks. If, for instance, the tribe was on the fall move and traveling toward a country in which there was plenty of game, should any individual go back and around the sticks in order to kill game on his own account, the soldiers (Bear clansmen) would, as soon as he was detected, go over to his lodge and burn it up with all its contents and break all his dishes. The only thing they would spare would be his life and that of the other members of his family. If the one who had transgressed the rules made any attempt at resistance he would be severely whipped. If he refused to submit to this and took up his fire arms to fight, the soldiers would stand there calmly, but the moment he made an attempt to shoot they would kill him. In such a case nothing would be said either by the rest of the tribe or his relatives about

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the second one, Old Lincoln himself obtaining the first. The first war honor was a quantity of wampum beads and the second a wampum belt. Both the one who got the second prize and Old Lincoln brought back with them an enemy's head.

From that time on *Midjistega* stayed with the Winnebago and he and Old Lincoln became great friends, living together, one of the reasons being that Old Lincoln could understand Winnebago.

One day they ran short of corn meal, so they decided to go and trade some furs for corn meal. They had plenty of furs because they spent most of their time hunting. When they got to the trader's store *Midjistega* said, "Say, trader, the boys have been out of paint for some time and you ought to give them some." "No, *Midjistega*, I can't do that." Then *Midjistega* again said, "Well, the paint boxes are small and aren't of much value anyhow, and you ought to make them a present of some. However, I always knew you were very stingy." Then the trader said, "My business is to trade you my wares for your furs and I will not give you any paint for nothing." Then *Midjistega* said, "If I had some flour I could make some paint myself. However, I am short of flour, too." Then the trader said, "*Midjistega*, you can not do it, for even the whites do not know how to make paint (in that way), so how could you, who are only an Indian, do it?" Thus they spoke to and fro and finally the trader said, "*Midjistega*, I will bet you my store against your furs that if I give you some flour you can not make paint out of it. If I win you are to give me your furs, and if you win I will give you my store." Then the bet was agreed upon.

Then a lodge was prepared and *Midjistega's* drum and flute were carried into it. Then the trader had some flour carried over to the lodge and it was poured into a dish. The trader, suspecting that there might be some trick, stirred up the flour thoroughly. He satisfied himself that there was nothing at the bottom of the dish. *Midjistega*, in the meantime, painted the corners of his mouth and eyes with ashes and then the singers sang for him. Then he handed the flute over to Old Lincoln and told him to blow it for him every now and then. The trader sat near the entrance of the lodge with his employees. Then *Midjistega* jumped up and ran all around the lodge on all fours. Then he took the dish with the flour and shaking it, began to dance around the lodge with it. After he had danced around for the third time it suddenly turned into a yellow color, and Old Lincoln noticed the change in the expression on the trader's face. As he went around for the fourth time it suddenly changed to a red color. When he got back to his starting place it was quite red and was an excellent quality of paint. Then he said, "Well, trader, I have won your store," and the trader answered, "You have won my store. I did not think that an Indian could do it." Then *Mid-*

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ask of me I will always take it into consideration. If they ask for war or if they ask for life, remember that I have been given control of these things." Thus spoke the buffalo-ghost. There he received all the things with which he was blessed. 159 787 776

In the course of his life he made use of all his blessings. His first victory occurred when he went on the warpath for the first time. He had joined a war party and a fight occurred toward the evening of the same day. As he was walking along he suddenly saw a gun directed against him at close range. He jumped right and left and in that way escaped being shot. Then the enemy tried to capture the one who had been blessed by the buffalo, holding him tightly by the arm. But he struck the enemy twice against an object and tore his stomach open. Then he walked away. As he was going he thought to himself, "Why did I not kill him outright?" So he went back with the intention of doing this, but as he approached the man the latter directed a gun against him. Thinking, however, that it was not loaded, he did not dodge, and he was shot. His breast was filled with shot and he was killed. But he did not remain dead long. He soon came to consciousness and sat up, uttering sounds like a buffalo. 159 787 776 726

Then he remembered that a buffalo ghost had blessed him. He had indeed said to him, "When you are about to fight do not forget me." He remembered this, so he exerted his power. All the blood that was in his stomach he vomited forth and felt better. Just then one of his relatives came along and asked him, "How have you been getting along?" and he answered, "I have killed one. There lies his body. Take his scalp for me." "All right," said his relative, and did what he had been told, and brought it to him, saying, "Here it is." A horse was there also, and this the relative likewise led away and started back to (the camp). When he met the war leader, the latter asked him, "How have you been making out?" He answered, "I give you these trophies," and handed the leader the scalp and the horse. "Ah, it is good," he said, and put a wampum belt on him. Then the war leader sang a song and started to run, and the buffalo-blessed one reminded himself of his blessing and went back also. He was all shot to pieces. But he did not die, for he had been blessed with power, so how could he die? The buffalo ghost he had seen with flattened bullets in his belt had fulfilled his promise, and the wampum belt that he had seen in his fasting had now become true. [727]

He went to many wars after this, but he was never harmed. He doctored many people and caused them to have more life. After a while he made a war bundle consisting of a flute that he had constructed himself, a buffalo tail, and a buffalo head. Then he made offerings to them. These many things he made sacred. Since then buffalo feasts have been given. [756] [778]

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575 796 the Buffalo clan feast, the society of those who have been blessed by the buffaloes, and the society of those who wear buffalo headdresses: the last apparently of Sioux origin.

The medicine dance has been described by the author in some detail,[1] and a general description will be found on page 350.

796 ●727 Of the semipermanent societies, the *hok'ize're* dance is given after every successful war party by those four individuals who have counted coup. It has only a temporary existence, for it ceases to be an organization as soon as each individual performance is over. Its main purpose seems to be the desire to transfer to the victor, from the skulls or the scalps of the slain enemies obtained on that particular warpath, the valor and prowess for which the slain person was noted.

527 In addition to the above ceremonies there were a number of pleasure and miscellaneous dances that are described on page 379.

796 278 There were apparently a number of very important feasts connected with certain medicines, the principal one of which was the Black Earth Medicine feast; but unfortunately no account of this was obtained, owing to lack of time.

Ceremonies Associated With the Clans

The Clan Feasts

The Thunderbird clan or chief feast

796 614 *Introduction.*—The chief feast, or, as it may more properly be called, the feast of the bird clans, is generally given once a year, sometimes in late spring. It was also given on certain other occasions for specific purposes. At the present time it is given by the members of the Thunderbird clan and the prevalence of the appellation "chief feast" would seem to indicate that it was at all times the feast of the Thunderbird clan. We ought then to expect to find clan feasts of the other members of the *waŋgereği* division, namely, of the Warrior, Eagle, and Pigeon clans. No such feasts are given to-day, however, and the members of these latter three clans always speak of the chief or bird feast as their specific clan feast. As such it is also regarded by the members of the *maⁿnegi* division.

In the total absence of historical data it is quite useless to speculate about the significance of one feast sufficing for four clans, where in strict analogy to the feasts of the other clans we would expect to find one for each clan; yet the idea that naturally presents itself is that we are in reality dealing with one clan that has become split up into four subclans. [114] Such a view has been expressed by J. O. Dorsey,[2] but the data upon which he based his opinion seem to us highly

[1] The Ritual and Significance of the Winnebago Medicine Dance, Journal of American Folklore, Vol. XXIV, No. XCII, 1911.

[2] Siouan Sociology, 15th Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 241.

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CHAPTER XV

MISCELLANEOUS DANCES

The Hok'ixe're Dance.

Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan: This is the way in which people used to bring scalps to one another. When a man returns from the warpath with a scalp he leaves it outside of the village and the warriors run out with their clubs and strike it and count coup (just as on the battlefield). As they count coup they call out their names. Then they are told what ceremonial dress they are to wear. They then send a messenger to the person to whom the scalp is to be presented to tell him to select a pole (for the victory dance). He thanks them and says, "It is good." Then the warriors who are returning arrange themselves in a circle around this pole and dance around it. He who has obtained the first war honor leads.

The one to whom they present the scalp thanks the spirits who are in control of war powers and then raising his hand prays to the Sun. Then he sings a song and when that is finished sits down, beats the drum, and sings a dancing song, while the others dance.

Then the owner of the scalp, turning toward the spirits who are in control of war, gives the victory whoop four times. After each whoop all the other people in the lodge strike their mouths with their hands and yell. After the victory whoops have been given all dance the victory dance.

Then the man who has received the scalp lets his sisters, his aunts, and his nieces select the war presents which are always bestowed upon them. With these tied around their necks they dance. Toward evening they finish the victory dance and then all enter the (dancing) lodge. He to whom the scalp is given is the host and he sits down first. Then comes the donor and then in a row the four who have counted coup.

The ceremony begins with songs sung by the host. He first sings two war-bundle songs (*waruza'p na"sra"*) and then two night songs (*ha"he' na"sra"*). When these are finished the meal is eaten. Before eating, all the animal heads are placed in front of the donor of the scalp and he selects those men with whom he wishes to share them.

Then the host rises and says, "War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you all. Our warrior (the donor) will eat together with

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727 our grandfather, the scalp, who is standing in the center of the lodge.
796 Place a plate for the scalp and bring it to that brave man." Then the brave warriors eat the head, and when that is finished the servants distribute meat and food to those present who have not taken part in the head eating. While they are eating the host blows on
[534] his flute and sings some songs until the eating is over. Then he rises and speaks again:

727 "All you who are present to give us counsel and who sit here in
796 the place of others, I greet you. For the warriors who would counsel
537 with us repeatedly and for the sacred speeches of our fathers do we ask. In this ceremony to-day we will select as many war-bundle owners as are present to eat together with our grandfather, who is standing in the center of our lodge (the scalp). And if they select me to eat with the scalp, poor and pitiable as I am, it would be good.

"Should sickness suddenly come upon a village all those who are sick may take part in this ceremony. For our grandfather, who stands in the middle of the lodge, is no weakling, and when they take hold of him they are obtaining supernatural powers, it is said. We are trying to trample upon the soul (*wanayxi'rak*) (of the scalp). If we trample upon it, all the goods of life that were still coming to him when he was killed will be transferred to us. As many as are going to take part in this dance to-night should try to make the soul of our grandfather (the scalp) more amenable to our prayers. So all you women and men see to it that you dance with all your strength. Do not take this matter lightly, for we obtain life thereby, we were told.

"Councilors of the different clans who are seated here with us, I greet you all."

727 Then they sang *hok'ixe're* songs and danced the *hok'ixe're* dance.
796 All night they danced. They did not stop for a moment. Thus they tried to conquer the soul of their grandfather (scalp). They danced till early in the morning and then just as the sun appeared they carried the drum outside of the lodge to the victory post and danced the victory dance. As soon as the sun was high in the heavens they stopped. Then they went to sleep.

The second day.—Just before the sun was setting they all came and danced the victory dance again. Then the host got ready to furnish the meal again. All his female relatives who had received presents took charge of the preparation of the food, which the servants had previously obtained. As soon as the victory dance was over they entered the dancing lodge. Then the host spoke, and when he finished he sang four songs, and as soon as these were finished they all got ready to eat. Then the host said that he would give the heads of the animals to the donor and that the latter might select those warriors whom he wished to have as partners in the

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head eating. Then the donor selected his partners. The host then began to sing. The scalp was taken down from the post and placed in a dish near the door. The soul of the scalp still remained within it, so they tried again to make it less powerful and to conquer it, for they knew that if they succeeded in conquering it all the life that was still coming to the possessor of the scalp at his death would be obtained for themselves. Then the dancers and the feasters, indeed all who had counted coup, tried to obtain some of the dead enemy's residuary life. All tried to add some new life to their own. 727 796 [774]

When the meal was over, then the host offered tobacco to the spirits, and all those present prayed for war to the spirits to whom offerings had been made. They asked that if it be their good fortune to kill a number of people on the warpath, when they returned home they would be as thankful as they are now. All these warriors who were taking part in this dance liked it very much. [782]

Then the host struck the drum that had been placed in front of him and sang. When he finished, he had the drum placed in front of the man who had counted first coup. Then this man sang and the drum was passed to the next man, and so on until each man had sung. After all had sung and spoken the men and women together danced around the lodge. The woman who had received the presents led the dance, carrying the scalp. The people believed that the scalp was dancing with them. All night they danced the *hoi'-ire'e* dance without resting at any time, and when the sun appeared they took the drum outside to the post and danced the victory dance. Then when the sun was high in the heavens they stopped and went to sleep. In the evening when the sun was low they danced the victory dance again, and then when it was pretty dark, singing slow songs, they slowly entered the lodge again. Then they made a circuit of the lodge and placed the drum in the middle of the lodge.

The feast was now ready. All that they were to eat—deer, bear, dog—were placed in front of the feasters. Food was brought to the donor and all those who were sitting together with him, as well as all those who had counted coup and all the women who had received presents. Head eating is holy, and if one eats part of the head it is thought that it will help him greatly. [253] [264]

Then the host rose and spoke as follows:

"The servants who are carrying the food around here will probably not have enough to go around, but you must remember that not the men but the women are furnishing the food. Although it is little, I hope you will eat it. We will now sing four songs." Then he sang two war-bundle songs and two night songs. Before they ate the host rose and spoke, "This is a small feast and we will try to give food to our grandfather (some spirit) who is in charge of this

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727 ceremony. All who are going to partake in the head eating will
776 sit together with the donor. A warrior will eat together with the scalp. This is all I have to say."

Then the feasters who were selected to take part in the head eating went toward the warrior and ate with him. This warrior (the donor) held a long stick in his hands with which he danced, after he had partaken of the head together with his friends. After he had finished dancing, he walked to the center of the lodge and stuck the stick in the ground and (sat there), eating alone with the scalp. Then all the feasters ate again, and when they were finished the host sang a number of songs and passed (the drum) to the donor, who sang whatever songs he desired; either war-bundle songs, night songs, buffalo songs, or sore-eye dance songs. When the songs were over, all danced. Then the drum was passed to the one who had counted coup first and he spoke as follows:

"The spirits blessed our grandfather and taught him many speeches for this occasion. These we will try to repeat to-day. Even if we do not repeat them correctly, the Night Spirits will not take such a mistake amiss, we were told. Indeed, if I only know one thing (a song or a speech) they would bless me. We wish to trample upon the soul of our friend (the scalp) and if you, my friends, do the same and repeat the holy speeches of your grandfathers, we will surely accomplish our purpose. Life we wish to obtain, so let us start our songs. That is what I wanted to tell you. Now let us beat the drum and sing. I greet you all."

Then the drum and tobacco were taken to the one who had counted coup second. He spoke as follows:

"The songs and speeches that my grandfather used, those I, too, will use. I, too, desire to trample upon the soul of our friend (the scalp). Life I desire, and I will therefore start up some songs. I can not do what my ancestors did, but I will do the little I know. I greet you all."

Then the drum and tobacco were passed to the one who had counted coup third, and he spoke as follows:

"What our grandfather said, that I am trying to say now. I do not know any songs or speeches, however. I did not listen to what my parents told me, so now when I might have asked the spirits for many things, I can not do it. I do not know what to say and my eyes fill with tears at my discomfiture. But I have myself to blame for it. Now I will start up some songs. I greet you all."

Then they brought the drum to the one who had been fourth to count coup and placed tobacco in his hands. Then he spoke as follows:

"It is good. Those in the east have given me tobacco and I will now offer it to the spirits in their behalf. You have helped to trample

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upon the soul of our friend (the scalp) and you have tried to gain additional life. I also desire life. Our ancestors were equal to the spirits in their power and they asked each other to help one another in obtaining life. I will try to ask for that which you have asked. I greet you all." 727 716

Then all the war-bundle owners in the lodge greeted each other, and the drum was passed around until every one in the lodge had sung. Then they danced the *hok'ize're* dance until early dawn and when the sun was about to appear they took the drum to the post and danced the victory dance until the sun was high in the heavens. Then they went to sleep. All day they slept, and toward evening of the fourth night, when the sun was low, they began the victory dance again. When it was dark they entered the lodge and placed the drum in the center. Then the attendants put dog meat in the kettles. When all was in readiness and all the feasters had entered the lodge the host offered tobacco to the spirits for whom food was being prepared and spoke as follows: [262]

"After we have sung four songs the meal will be ready to be served. The attendants, it is true, have not cooked very much and it will doubtless not be enough for all, but I think that there will be a little portion for every one. When I have finished the four songs, then the donor for whom this ceremony is being given will select the people who are to eat with him. Then the attendants will distribute the portions of meat, in addition to the heads, and then we will all start to eat."

Then all ate. The donor after first eating with his friends ate alone with the scalp. Then some of the men arose and gave thanks. Finally the host rose again and said, "Whatever little it was in my power to do, I tried to do. All have tried to help me. It is really good. I am really unable to say what I wanted, but it is good. As the drum passes around, may it be of some help to every one."

Then the drum is passed to the one who had first counted coup. He sings and then it is passed to the other three who counted coup, who likewise sing. From them it is passed to all the other people in the lodge who have not sung yet. Then all dance the *hok'ize're* dance and toward dawn the drum is taken outside to the post and the victory dance is given. If the donor had lost a child the others now wipe off his tears and tell him not to cry any more; and they make the mourner feel joyful again. When it became (full) daylight they danced the victory dance and walked four times around the pole. Then they went to the grave of the child that had died and danced the victory dance there and stuck the scalp in the ground, for the soul of the child. There it would wither and the father would feel happy. This is the end. [765]

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THE HERUCKA DANCE

535 574 The *Herucka* is a social dance and is frequently given when visitors from other tribes are present, presents being given on this occasion. Men and women take part in it and are generally dressed in their best clothes. A few customs that were noticed at a performance in 1908 might be mentioned here.

If a man drops anything during the dance he himself may not pick it up. Only a warrior who has been wounded has the right to do so. The object dropped is returned to the owner, who, however, must always give it to his sister or niece.

It is at times customary for a man to dress himself in rags and beg for food, etc. He generally represents himself as an extremely poor man and pictures his destitution in a manner best calculated to amuse everyone. [525]

Wagers of horses are very commonly made at this dance.

The dances indulged in are mainly victory dances and the songs known as *Herucka* songs are always victory songs. Many borrowed songs are sung at this dance. [533]

A large drum is always used, around which sometimes as many as 10 drummers sit. The drum consists of an ordinary tub over which skin has been tightly drawn. It is supported by two carved sticks, to which it is firmly attached, so that the bottom is about a foot from the ground. It is painted in the following manner: Two rather narrow lines of paint across the center of the drum, one blue and the other green. The portion of the drum next to the yellow line is painted blue, and that next to the blue line red. No meanings for the colors were obtained. [534] [531]

WATIONAHE'ÑWĒ FEAST
(AFRAID-TO-EAT-GREENS FEAST)

241 785 262 Informant, member of Beaver clan: Just about roasting-ear month people would commence to fast and continue until the green corn is ripe enough to be eaten. They fast so that all the plants may strengthen the tribe.

The fast generally takes place in a special lodge, from under which all the grass has been cut, for the faster must not come in contact with anything that is green. When the fasting is over a feast is given at which all those present eat "greens" for the first time.

THE CAPTIVE'S DEATH DANCE

727 535 Before putting a captive to death it is customary to tie his arms behind him in such a manner that his hands have a little freedom. Then they put a gourd in his right hand and a lance in his left hand

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and permit him to dance and sing. This is called the *waŋgenigke-i*[a] dance." 727 535

"So then the turtle was told to dance his death dance—i. e., *waŋgenigke-i*[a] dance. Both of his arms were tied behind above the elbows. Only thus was he permitted to walk. His wrists were tied in front, so that he could not stretch out his arms. His ankles were tied in such a way that he could not take any long steps. He carried a gourd in one hand and a sacred object in the other, and with these he danced up and down the village, performing his death dance and singing and shaking his gourd. Many people came to see him. He stopped and changed his song, singing, "O death, O death! You young women come here to see me. I am anxious for death."

. . .

(It seems that it is customary to grant any wish the captive makes while dancing this dance.)

The Farewell Dance

When a person is about to go on the warpath he goes around the village dancing and asking for volunteers to accompany him. New volunteers join him as he dances and sings. When the dancing is over these volunteers tell the people how their forefathers encouraged them to go on the warpath, etc. 535 721

At the beginning and end of each song they strike their mouths with their hands and give a whoop.

FAREWELL SONGS 533 539

I 535 721

Hi'ske weje'ji yare'na[a] da'tcu[a] wa'gkénangru waja[a] ana'ŋgere; hi'ske
Truth he speaks I hope, war leaders, what he says, truth
weje'ji yare'na[a].
he tells I hope.

II

Cuŋkana'ŋgere je'ske hidanaŋkik'i[a]na dorcú'ŋkera waŋga'niŋgo: je'ske
These dogs like I think of myself war leader a man I am: Thus
hidanaŋkik'i[a]na.
I think of myself.
(I. e., I don't value my life any more than that of a dog.)

III

Jige' ya'ŋageni'na[a] waja[a] a'i[a]p'anai'na dotcu'ŋkera; jige' yare'na[a].
Again I desire it something a long time war leader; again I desire
(I. e., it is a long time since I have been on the warpath.)

IV

ña ai'ŋcke xawa'niŋktcane'na[a] dotcu[a] wuŋkeraicke xawa'niŋktcanena[a]
Even that they say will disappear war leader even he will disappear.
(I. e., I don't value my life any more than the war-leader does.)

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[a] The following description of this dance, contained in one of the versions of the myth, "Turtle on the warpath," is no doubt fairly accurate.

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are here, I send forth my greetings to you. Those of the various clans (present) have counseled me repeatedly and all the women and children have pleaded in my behalf (with the spirits). What love that was! And what does life consist of but love! The clan councilor is repeating the songs (that were obtained) when the sacred bundle was made, so that when the time for the tobacco offering to the spirits came, they would have the tobacco that they have kept all this time (ready). Now, sure enough, the time has arrived and they are sitting prepared to pray to all the various spirits. Long ago when they saw war they cooked the man they were to go after.[726] That is why they did it. A good (prosperous) warpath they will surely have. When they are actually in the midst of their warpath and are about to rush for one another (i. e., the Winnebago and his enemy), let him pour tobacco to the various spirits who are in control of war. If you say 'Grandfather, thus we used to offer you,' although you may not know (by any word or direct sign) whether those in control of war have answered you, (you will know it) as soon as the rush upon the enemy takes place and, although you go where the bullets and arrows rain hardest, you will pass out of the reach of the bullets and will pass safely out (of all danger). If the people rush for a man to bestow the war honors upon,[727] you will be the one. If you give the sacred feast in the proper way, if you burn up much tobacco and food, then the various spirits, especially the Thunderbirds, who are in control of the greatest war power, (will bless you) for the excellent way in which you have (prayed to them). Whenever the Thunderbirds come they will remember you; and when they come they will even call you by name and say, 'Let us smoke here.'[728] When the young begin to grow up, one of the men encourages them. Only a few, however, are like this. It is good. He (the host) has preached and pleaded for as many men as are present. They (the host and his band) have made offerings of food to our grandfathers who live in the west (the Thunderbirds) and pleasing offerings of tobacco and buckskin have they sent out to them. They have permitted me to impersonate (this spirit) and have thus given life to myself and my unimportant clansmen, who have been living in so lowly a condition. With real life have we felt ourselves connected (through your actions). With life have we felt ourselves connected by means of that vessel which the Creator gave me as a

[726] How the literal translation is nonsense. The real meaning is that the spirit of the enemy they are to kill on the warpath is present in the food offered up at this feast. This is a characteristic Winnebago conception. For another example, see a version of the origin myth of the Thunderbird clan bundle, where the hero, by drinking a certain liquid, has not only a vision of the people he is going to kill, but even hears their dying screams.

[727] This refers to the custom of running out to greet the returning warriors in order to conduct them into the village and bestow the war honors upon those who have remained cool.

[728] I. e., if a person makes it a habit to offer tobacco, the spirits will say, "Let us stop at such and such a man's place as we go along and have a smoke."

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about two days' distance from their camp. They arrived at 539
the destined place at evening and the woman pitched the tent, while the man went out to gather wood. Since there was nothing to eat he told his wife that he would go in search of food immediately. He took his bow and arrows and left. While he was gone the woman fetched some water, filled the kettle and put it on the fire so that it would be ready when her husband returned. At dusk he returned carrying a deer on his back. This he set down outside and the woman skinned it and prepared it in the usual manner by cutting it first into small pieces and then drying these by the heat of the fire. Then they all sat down and ate and, shortly after, went to bed. The woman and children were soon fast asleep but the man stayed awake planning the hunt for the following day, for he wished very much to please his father-in-law. On the following morning he told his wife that if, during his absence, anything should happen she was under no circumstances to leave the children. Then he took his bow and his arrows and went away.

Now in the olden days it was considered a very brave [554]
thing for a man to camp at some distance from the main settlement and that is why, on this occasion when he was leaving, the man said to his wife, "If anything happens to you while I am away, remember that I will return immediately." He wished to show how much he loved her. He was out all day hunting and he killed a deer, skinned it and began carrying it home on his back. When he was near the site of his little camp he noticed that the lodge-poles were all standing upright and he knew immediately [927]
what had happened; he knew at once that his wife and children had either been killed or captured. He felt terrible but he laughed when he reached the lodge and found

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[927] his wife gone and the children dead. The bodies of the children had been placed in a standing posture against the door. Their lips were parted so that they might thus convey to their father on his return, the impression of smiling at him. This was an old custom and it was done because the enemy thought that, in this way, they could cause a father the most pain.

When the man returned and saw all this, he quietly attended to the fire, prepared his meal and then addressed the children saying to them, "Come, this is the last meal that we will take together." Then he pried open their mouths and put a piece of meat in their throats. After he had fed them, he himself sat down to eat. When he was through he painted his body in two colors, one side from head to foot white and the other from head to foot black. Then he again spoke to the children, "My dear children, I believe I can go on a few warpaths myself and
[925] I shall endeavor to send your spirits to the spirit land as properly as I know how. I shall kill the people who have slain you and many more to boot."

Then he put some arrows in his quiver and buried his children. Starting out he soon found himself in a trail and by carefully scrutinizing the footprints he discovered those of his wife, and thus knew that she had been taken prisoner. Now he transformed himself into a ghost and following the trail, found the enemy not far away. He ran ahead of them and waited, and as one of the enemy who was carrying the medicine pouch approached, he gave a whoop and killed him, cutting off his head as far as the neck. Then he disappeared in the brush, hid the head and ran ahead again. So he killed one after another, eight in all. When
[927] day dawned he returned to the camp with his eight heads and eight war clubs. These he first placed around his camp-

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ing site, but then picking them up started for the home of his own father. 539

Thus, with the eight heads, he came to his father's lodge, but he did not enter it until late at night. Then when all his people were asleep, he blackened his face and entering the lodge, sat down in the place he had occupied before he had married. The old man suddenly saw some one sitting in his son's accustomed seat and awakening his wife he said to her, "There is some one sitting in our son's seat who looks exactly like our son." Both of them then sat up and soon they discovered that it really was their son and that he was in mourning, his face all blackened with charcoal. [965]

Then the old man spoke, "My son, what is the matter?" And the son answered, "Father, a war-party came upon my camp while I was out hunting, took my wife prisoner, and killed my children." "My son, if you had any respect for yourself, why did you not die with your children?" "Father, let me explain to you how it happened. While I was out hunting they fell upon my lodge, killed my two children and took my wife prisoner. When I came back I felt very miserable but I laughed and cooked my own meal, fed the children and ate with them for the last time. Then I pursued the war party and on that very night I killed eight of them, whose heads and war clubs I have brought home with me. Near the spring I have hidden them. There I placed the heads in a row and there I planted the war clubs in the ground, one near each head." "My son," said the father, "you have done well and the souls of your children will certainly reach the spirit land safely. For us, too, you have brought some nice heads, so that we might derive some amusement from them. I am very thankful to you." [927]

In the morning the father sent the crier around the vil-

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539 lage with the news of what his son had accomplished all alone. All the men in the village put on their war paint, took their war clubs and ran to the place where the heads had been deposited. There each man struck one and giving the war whoop, counted *coup* on the enemy. Then they took the heads and brought them to their war lodge. There the victory dance was given and there all praised the man who had accomplished this brave deed.

When the dance was over the man again blackened his face and fasted for ten days. His people gave a feast when he had finished his fast, and at this feast he told them that he was now going on the warpath to rescue his wife who had been captured, and that all those who wished to come along could do so. "To-morrow at dawn," he said, "we will get ready and go to a certain hill and from there start out." So the next morning they gathered at the appointed place and started out. The man led the expedition. They marched all that day and toward evening they built their fires and sat around the fireplace while the old warriors told war exploits. The next day they marched all day again and so on until the third day. On the fourth day the man said, "Now here I shall attempt to locate the whereabouts of the enemy." So he went away and on that very night he succeeded in approaching the enemy's village. He found them all asleep. Then he went to his wife and said, "I have come to get you. The spirit who is in charge of this war-party has given this whole village to me and to-morrow we shall kill them all. Your brothers are outside with me and to-morrow, when we rush upon these people, you must run toward your brothers and tell them that you want to be a prisoner. I shall tell my friends to be on the lookout for you and not kill you. Now remember, do as I tell you, for if you don't,

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

they will kill you!" "I shall try," said the woman. Then the man returned to his followers and told them that everything was well and cautioned them about the woman, telling the brothers also to see that she was not killed. 539

When day dawned they fell upon the village and surprised it. They fought nearly half a day and killed practically every one except the head chiefs and their sons, whom they took prisoners. They then returned home. When they reached the village they took both the prisoners and the captured scalps to their war lodge where they were guarded. The next morning they tied the prisoners to posts, danced around them and tortured them till they died. [727]

Now such is the story of a man who was faithful to the spirit from whom he had received war blessings. He gave feasts and he made offerings in their honor. He fasted and his prayers were answered. [782]

The Story of the Man Who Rescued His Wife from Spirit-land

In a certain village there once lived two young married people. The woman was very beautiful and her husband loved her very much. Always he was thinking of something that he could do for her. 539 775

One day the young woman got ill. They called for a shaman but he could do nothing for her. Many were the holy men the young husband called, but it was all of no avail and the young woman died. They buried her. On the evening of the funeral many friends came to the grave to place lights there, so that the soul of the departed might find its way through spirit land. The young man was very good and every one liked him. They all came to the Four ooo

7:Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

inflict this suffering upon yourself. Not without constant effort are these blessings procurable. Try to have one of the spirits created by Earthmaker take pity on you. Whatever he says will come about. If you do not possess one of the spirits from whom to obtain strength and power, you will be of no consequence socially and those around you will show you little respect. Indeed they will jeer at you.

My son, it is not good to die in the village; in your homes. Above all, do not let women journey to the spirit land ahead of you. It is not done. To prevent this from happening do we speak to our sons and encourage them to fast. Some day in life you will find yourself traveling along a road filled with obstacles and then you will wish you had fasted. When such an event confronts you, that you may not find it necessary to reproach yourself, I counsel you to fast. If you have not obtained any knowledge from the spirits, why it may happen that some day, in later life, warriors will be returning from the warpath and as they distribute the war prizes to their sisters,[18] your own sisters will stand there empty-handed envying the rest. But if you obtain blessings from the war-controllers, your sisters will be happy. How proud they will be to receive the prizes, to wear them, and to dance the victory dance! Your sisters too will be strengthened thereby and you will be content and happy.

Now all this it would be well for you to obtain. Try to

[18] Among the Winnebago a man's sisters, especially his elder sisters, were very highly respected and all war prizes, such as wampum-belts, wampum necklaces, etc., were always given to them whenever a man returned from a successful war-party in which he had secured some honor. These war honors were of various kinds. The greatest was considered to be the feat of having struck the body of a dead enemy first.

7:Radin E-8 (ca.1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

*159 765 [775] [539] [537] I have control will carry for him, and they will lead him by the hand until he reaches his destination. I greet you all.

Then he narrated his war exploit. He went into great detail. He told as accurately as it was possible how he had killed a man, broken his collar bone and [727] then flayed him; how he had then chopped and cut up the body and mutilated him in such a fashion that he could not be identified; how finally he had stolen his dogs. All night he spoke in this strain. He went on to tell how he had killed and utterly destroyed an entire village so that no one was left to tell of the massacre. All night he told of his war exploits. Sometimes such an account may last two to three hours. When he finished the people all went to sleep.

For three nights the same thing was repeated. Throughout this time a burning ember was placed at [775] the grave. When the spirit was ready to start his journey he took this ember, it is believed.

For the fourth night all the brave men as well as everybody else in the neighborhood were invited. A great quantity of food was prepared and the relatives [524] of the mourners brought objects to be used in the games that are always played at the wake. They tried to comfort the main mourners as much as possible. On the fourth night a burning ember was also placed at the grave of the deceased.

As soon as the attendants prepared the food the chief mourner got up and spoke:

7:Radin E-5 (ca.1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

*159 Thus I spoke. However, they made me an offering
72 of tobacco as they asked me, and I accepted the to-
[701 bacco saying that I would at least make an offering
[787 of tobacco for them. Then I offered tobacco to the
[1076 Thunderbirds and asked them for rain, that we might walk in the protection and power of rain. This offering we made in the morning and it rained all that day. Then we went to the place where we knew that we could find horses. When we got there we met the owner of the horses and spoke to him. We accompanied him to a carpenter shop nearby, and there killed him. I struck his dead body, counted coup [555] first,
[555 and announced my new name, as I gave a war-whoop.
[551 I shouted *'Big-Winnebago* has counted coup on his man.' Then the others counted coup also. We searched his pockets and found medicine and money
• [729 in them. The money we divided among ourselves.
[826 After that we cut out his heart, for we had heard that hearts were used for medicine. That is why we cut out his heart. He had a gun and that we took away from him and hid."

Then my father said to me, "My son, it is good. Your life is no longer an effeminate one. This is the manner in which our ancestors encouraged us to live. It is the will of the spirits in control of war that has led

[555 [555] The first four war honors enumerated above are called "counting coup" by the Whites. *Coup* is the French for *strike* and the expression owes its origin to the custom of warriors counting the number of people they have killed or honors they have obtained by striking the post at the grave of the particular person for whose benefit they are recounting their achievements.

We Kill a Pottawattomie

you to do this. Of your own initiative you could not possibly have done it. However, we had better not have a Victory Dance as yet. We have the honor anyhow. We must be careful about the Whites. In the old days we were at liberty to live in our own way, and when such a deed as yours became known, your sisters would rejoice and dance, we are told. Now, however, the law of the Whites is to be feared. In due time you will get a chance to announce your feat and then you can wear a head ornament for you have earned that right for yourself."

159* 721 [720] [648] [554]

[p. 151]

7: Radin E-8 (ca. 1912) 1928 NP12 Winnebago NP12

§23. *I Take a Trip to Nebraska*

*159 597 Shortly after this I had to go to Nebraska. It was in connection with a child I once had, a boy who had died when he was two years old. His mother's father then adopted another one in his place. This child belonged to the Menominee tribe. I had to go there for I was the adopted father of the child and he was thus my son, the one who was taking my dead son's place. [431] I gave the boy a horse at the ceremony performed to [796] fill the dead child's place. The ceremony itself was the Sore Eye Dance.[97] The relatives of the mother gave me some beaded bags, two boxes of maple sugar, etc. Before I had started out for Nebraska, when I was still living in Wittenberg, the boy came to me. I was then living with a woman, and she gave me many things that I was to take along with me to Nebraska and for which she hoped I would get horses in return.

*159 When I started, I stopped at Black River Falls. I went to a woman with whom I had once lived, in order to take her along with me, but she refused. I had gone

[515] [97] The Sore Eye Dance, called more correctly the Society-of-those-who-have-been-blessed-by-the-Night-Spirits, is a secret society organized something like that of the Medicine Dance but quite different in object. It is primarily a war ceremony and its nickname of Sore Eye Dance arose out of the fact that it was so frequently given after the return of a successful war party that the people attending it, got sore eyes from staying up so long.

● [927] [796]

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

§26. *I Am Arrested for Murder and Confess*

Two years elapsed. At about that time we heard 159* 698
that the men who were responsible for the disappearance of the Pottawattomie had been discovered. One of those who had taken part in his murder had been to Nebraska and had there announced his deed in recounting his acts of bravery at a Warrior Dance. Such [727] ●
was the rumor. This same man had also announced it at a funeral wake. It was in this way that the facts had come out.

That same winter, while I was living in the forest [201]
cutting wood, two men came to me one night. They were officers. They mentioned a man's name to me and asked me if I knew him. I said, "Yes." "Well," said they, "let us go to town. We want to ask you some things." They told me to get ready. I did so and rode in a wagon they possessed. Then the men asked me, "Did Peter kill this man? Do you know?" "I do not know," I said to them. Then they told me from what source they had obtained the information and again asked me, "Did you ever hear anything about it?" "No," I answered. "Did you know that this man was missing?" "I did hear that a man had been missing, but as I had not known him, I did not give the matter much thought," I said to them. Then

8:Lurie E-5 (1945-1950)1953 NP12 Winnebago NP12

124 838 of prophecy. The name dejáŋčowiŋga was given as applying to the story told by S.S., and this berdache was described as a "bachelor," who at one time had acted as a foster mother to several children belonging to his sister or half-sister. One of the nieces reared by dejáŋčowiŋga was still living near Black River Falls in 1946, but it was impossible to obtain any direct information from her. She was about fifty-five years old in 1946.

At the Wisconsin Dells two Winnebago men overheard M.M. and the writer discussing dejáŋčowiŋga and one of them, a contemporary of M.M., recalled that he had heard of dejáŋčowiŋga whose brothers had threatened to kill him if he "put on the skirt." The other man, who was born in 1898 or 1899, said that he would try to obtain more information for the writer from his maternal and paternal uncles, two elderly men who lived near Tomah, Wisconsin. J.S.'s uncles merely substantiated as much as was already known of the dejáŋčowiŋga story without clarifying the term applied to berdaches generally. However, J.S. believed that an old man who lived near Victory, Wisconsin could supply more data, and some time later had an interview with him. This was reported several months later, in March, 1947. J.S. said that the old man had considered the matter a "bad story" and only agreed to tell it because J.S. had done him several favors. At one time, the old man had explained, a band of Winnebago returned from a war expedition with several Sioux captives, among them a chief. Under ordinary circumstances the warrior (hawk) clan would have taken charge of the ultimate fate of the prisoners, but in this village the only members of the warrior clan were a very small boy and his grandmother. The grandmother was called upon to speak for the grandson because, while the decision should have rested with the male members of the clan, the only male member present was a child. What became of the chief's followers is not known, but the grandmother decreed that the leader was to remain in the village unharmed, but had to dress, act, work and generally conduct himself as a woman as long as he lived. This took place many years ago and no one knows why the grandmother took such a harsh stand except that possibly she had some old grudge against the Sioux. J.S. reported that the old man told him this was the "first dejáŋčowiŋga," and, as far as could be determined, the term liáŋge was not used.

727 838

838 124 Upon further questioning by J.S., the old man qualified the foregoing story by saying that other men, who were members of the Winnebago tribe, dressed and acted like women because they had been told to do so by the moon at the time of their vision quest. These men were highly respected, were prophets, could do women's work better than women, and sometimes even married other men.

The fact that transvestites who conducted themselves as women were not always true berdaches is illustrated in another story collected from M.R. in the winter of 1945. M.R. died in 1946 at the age of fifty years and he was never questioned as to the relationship of the following story to cases of true berdaches because the significance of the matter was not then clear to the writer.